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THE CANAANITE GOD ḤAURŌN (ḤŌRŌN)

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The decipherment of the North-Canaanite mythological texts from Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah) has greatly increased the number of known Canaanite divine names.¹ The flood of new data should not, however, tempt us to neglect the study of the less exciting material already available elsewhere, especially since the latter is constantly being enlarged by sporadic discoveries.² The new god whose existence we propose to establish has not been identified in the Ugarit tablets, but the evidence is nonetheless conclusive, as we shall see.

In 1928 the French classical archaeologist, André Plassart, published an inscription from Mount Cynthus on the island of Delos, on which is mentioned the god *Αυρωνα* of Jamnia in Palestine.³ At the same time Plassart quoted Isidore Lévy's combination of the new Semitic deity with the second element in the name of Beth-horon, an ancient Palestinian town (or, rather, two towns), situated about twenty miles from Jamnia. Neither Plassart nor Lévy was aware of the other pertinent material to which we wish to call attention.⁴

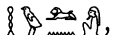
¹ See H. Bauer, *ZAW*, X (1933), 81–101; XII (1935), 54–59. It may be observed that Nos. 14–15 in Bauer's list are probably factitious, and that Nos. 21–24 are not well established.

² The names of these deities have been collected recently by Wood, *JBL*, XXXV, 64 ff., and by Stanley Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, *passim* (not, however, exhaustive). Note also the observations of the writer, *JPOS*, II, 19 f.; *AJSL*, XLI, 73–101 and 283–85; *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, pp. 143–54; *AJSL*, XLIII, 233–36; *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 164–69; *JPOS*, XII, 188 ff.; *JPOS*, XVI, 17–20.

³ *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe à Délos* (Paris, 1928), pp. 278–82.

⁴ Nor did Dussaud contribute any further elucidation in his review (*Syria*, XI, 298 f.), to which the writer owes his knowledge of Plassart's publication.

In the writer's *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* ([New Haven, 1934], pp. 50, X. C. 13, 57, A. 5) he called attention to the fact that the god Ḥaurôn was already known from the Magical Papyrus Harris, and that the name was elsewhere attested in Canaanite (in the theophorous name ^c*Abd-Ḥaurôn*—see below), referring to the present paper for a fuller treatment of the material. Meanwhile a new occurrence of the name in question has been published by Montet and Bucher,⁵ following which Seyrig has independently called attention to the fact that the Egypto-Canaanite god is identical in name with the deity of Jamnia.⁶ Since the treatment of Montet and Bucher is inadequate, leaving out much of the relevant material at the same time that it brings in data which do not belong here at all, our paper may not be superfluous.⁷

In the winter of 1933-34 Montet discovered a statue at Tanis bearing the name of the god Ḥaurôn, written , *H-r-u-n*. The inscription on the sides of the base, repeated twice, reads, "Son of the Sun, Ramesses-beloved-of-Amôn, beloved of Ḥaurôn." At one end there is the introductory "Good god, *Wâse(r)-mu³e(t)-Rê-sâtep-ne-Rê^c*," and at the other we read "of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amôn," i.e., the god Ḥaurôn is the special patron of Ramesses II. The statue represents the falcon-god protecting the name of Ramesses

⁵ "Un dieu cananéen à Tanis: Houroun de Ramsès" (*Revue Biblique*, 1935, pp. 153-65).

⁶ *Syria*, XVI (1935), 417 f.

⁷ Instead of discussing the instructive occurrences of the name in the Papyrus Harris, for which the reader is referred to Erman-Grapow and Burchardt, they try to find two other places where the name occurs in Egyptian theophorous formation. The suggestion that the writing *Hr-nm-hb* (of the royal name Harmais) instead of the more usual *Hr-m-hb* should be explained as "*Hrn* (Ḥaurôn) is in the feast" will certainly not commend itself to other Egyptologists, who consider the writing in question either as a New Egyptian spelling (*nm* for older *m*, *im*) or as incorporating a variant spelling *Hr-n-hb* with the usual *Hr-m-hb*. Phonetically it is hardly possible, since the name *Hurn* contains consonantal *waw*. But the idea that the name of the Hittite bride of Ramesses II, *Mu³e(t)-nafre(w)-Rê^c*, should have an additional "Houroun" inserted (pp. 160-61) is devoid of the slightest tangible basis. There is no reason for combining the biblical ethnic *Hôri*, "Horite," with the name of the god, especially since the cuneiform ethnic *Hurrâ* appears as *Hry* in the alphabetic texts of Ugarit. On the question of the name **Horri*, Egypt. *Hâru*, cf. the writer, "The Horites in Palestine" (G. L. Robinson anniversary volume, *From the Pyramids to Paul* [New York, 1935], pp. 9-26), and *Vocalization*, pp. 37, V. A. 8 and 53 f., XIII. A. 5-6. It is also unfortunate that they bring in the literary Arabic designation of the falcon, long ago erroneously combined by Loret with the name of Horus. Phonetically it is inadmissible, since *Hâre(w)* has nothing in common with *hurrû* except the consonants. Moreover, the Arabic term means simply "the pure-bred, noble bird"; *hurr* appears in Hebrew as *hôr*, "noble," but the latter has nothing to do with *Hôri*, as we know now. Nor is the authors' suggestion that the name "Houroun" may be simply the semitized form of Horus helped by such uncritical etymological combinations.

II in the form of the solar disk (*Rê*) on the head of the child (*mš*) which holds the *šw*-reed, as convincingly shown by Montet, comparing a parallel in the British Museum where the falcon-god Ḥarakhte protects the name of the king. The falcon-god is thus assimilated to Ḥaurôn, presumably because of a double resemblance in name and function; the name of Horus was then pronounced *Ḥâre* (Bab., *Ḥâra*) and that of Ḥaurôn, approximately *Ḥawrân* (for the problem of the functions of Ḥaurôn see below).

In a contemporary magical text, known as the Magical Papyrus Harris (Harris 501), dating from the late Nineteenth Dynasty (probably), Ḥaurôn is mentioned four times, more often than any other Semitic deity whose name occurs in the same text, though we find such important divinities as Ba'al (in the Egyptian form *Sûtaḥ*), 'Astart, and 'Anat. This document was published by Budge, and has since been studied by Akmar, Lexa, and especially by Lange, whose treatment is by far the best.⁸

The first passage mentioning Ḥaurôn is reverse I, 7, which refers to magical means of rendering a wolf harmless. The context reads: *wšf Ḥ-w-ru-na nȝyk ša'-a-ar, šc ḥpšk n Ḥry-šfyṭ, w'w'n tw c'n-nw-ti(t)*⁹ = "Ḥaurôn makes thy fangs impotent, thy foreleg is cut off by Aarsaphes, after 'Anat has cut thee down." The word *ša'ar*, "fangs," is a Semitic loan, from the stem *šcr*, corresponding to Arabic *t̤ḡr* (*taḡr* means precisely "front teeth, incisors").¹⁰ We have followed Lange

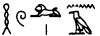
⁸ See Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1910), Pls. XX-XXX, pp. 23-27, 34-40 (very inaccurate, but not always useless); E. Akmar, *Le papyrus magique Harris* (Upsala, 1916); Fr. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1925), II, 35-44; H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen, 1927) ("Danish Academy of Sciences, Historical-Philological Communications," Vol. XIV, No. 3).

⁹ This orthography probably indicates a pronunciation *'Anûta* (though it may be corrupt). If this is correct, it reflects the Canaanite totalizing plural *'Anôt* (in the name *Bêt-'Anôt*), parallel to the totalizing double plural *'Anatôt*; cf. *AJSL*, XLI (1924-25), 84, nn. 3 and 4. For the use of the totalizing plural of divine names cf. the writer's observations, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (3d ed.; New York, 1935), pp. 166 f.

¹⁰ This translation was already offered by Budge, *mirabile dictu*, but seems to be established by the agreement of context, use of the determinative for "tooth" (followed by the usual determinative of the homonym), and etymology. The meaning "agreement" given for this passage by both the *Wörterbuch* and Burchardt makes no sense, and Lange's suggested "Drohung" for all occurrences of the word, though certainly possible here, does not commend itself. A curious problem is raised by the spelling *ša'ar(a)* invariably found in all occurrences of the three Egyptian loanwords from Canaanite, meaning respectively "gate-tower" (or the like), "agreement, contract" (or the like), and "fangs." Though they cannot be separated from Proto-Canaanite **taḡr* (Ugaritic *t̤ḡr*, Amarna *šahri*), Aramaic *tar'd* (transposed), "gate" (later *ša'r'd*, "price," whence Arab. *si'r*, "price," is a Canaanite loanword), or the Arabic cognates from the stem *t̤ḡr*, they exhibit both the wrong sibilant (since Egypt. *š* is never employed to transcribe standard Canaanite *s* for **t*)

in reading *w^cwⁿ tw* instead of the *w^c tw n* of the manuscript. ‘Anat is the goddess of war, who fells the wolf in this incantation just as she fells the god Môt in the Ugaritic myth of Baal and Môt.

The second passage is reverse II, 1, where it occurs at the end of the same incantation: *ntk p³ mnîw qny H-w-ru-na*, “Thou art the valiant shepherd Ḥaurôn.” The third passage is in the next line, which begins a new incantation directed against wild beasts and demons in general: *H-w-ru-na ḥ³ ny n šht, Hr m dy(t) dgstw*, “O Ḥaurôn, drive (the beasts) from the (harvest) field; O Horus, let none enter!” It is interesting to note that Ḥaurôn and Horus are mentioned together, reminding one of the Ramesses statue. The fourth passage, at the end of this last incantation, repeats the formula of the second passage, “Thou art the valiant shepherd Ḥaurôn.” In general our interpretation of these passages follows Lange, and diverges considerably from that of Budge.

The name is spelled consistently , i.e., *H-w-ru-na*, according to the writer's system of transcribing the so-called syllabic orthography.¹¹ The writing *u-na* is the Egyptian equivalent of Canaanite *šn(a)* in many cases; the overhanging *a* represents originally the accusative (which is nearly always found in the cuneiform [Amarna] transcriptions of Canaanite names ending in *šn*). The beginning of the word is written consonantly, not syllabically. We shall explain the Canaanite form below.

Leaving the discussion of the evidence from the “magical papyrus” for the nature of Ḥaurôn until later, let us turn to the Greek inscription published by Plassart, cited above. As published in type it reads: ‘Ηρακλῆ καὶ Αὐρωνά, θεοῖς Ἰάμνειαν κατέχουσιν, Ζηνόδωρος, Πάτρων, Διδότος Ἰαμνῖται, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγε[ν]ῶν καὶ τῶν συ[ν]όντων πολί[των] χαριστήριον. Θύειν πάντα πλὴν αἰγείου = “Zenodorus, Patron, Diodotus, men of Jamnia, (have given this) to Heracles and to Hauronas as a thank-offering, on behalf of themselves and their brethren and their relatives, and their associated countrymen.

and the wrong second consonant (since standard Canaanite preserved etymological *ḡayin*, transcribed *g* or *q* by the Egyptians). It follows that all three homonyms must have been borrowed from another dialect of Canaanite, as will be shown by the writer in detail elsewhere.

¹¹ See *Vocalization*, *passim*. It may be added that the writer's views are being accepted by a steadily increasing number of European scholars, though they will doubtless receive some modification in details.

Everything may be sacrificed except goat." The nominative is not *Aurona* as printed by Plassart and Dussaud, but *Haurona* or *Hauronas* (Αὐρώνας or Αὐρωνᾶς),¹² more probably the latter than the former (cf. *Mapva* and *Mapvas*, name of the chief god of Gaza). As my colleague, Professor B. D. Meritt, informs me, there is absolutely nothing to suggest that this deity is feminine, being thus the *paredros* of Heracles; it is, a priori, far more likely that the sex is masculine.

The Tyrians identified their chief god, the "King of the City" (*milk-gart*, Melkarth) with Greek Heracles, apparently because of similarities in attributes and accompanying characteristics, such as the lion and the club. The Tyrian Heracles migrated with colonists and merchants to various Tyrian colonies, such as Citium in Cyprus and Carthage. In Palestine we know of one other local cult of Heracles—namely, at Philadelphia (Ammon)—where it also seems to be of Tyrian origin, as maintained by Baudissin.¹³ It is, *a fortiori*, probable that the Heracles of Jamnia is the god of Tyre, since Phoenician influence in the Philistine plain and the hinterland (Marisa!) was very considerable in the Hellenistic age. Heracles then represents the new god of Jamnia who displaced the older Ḥaurôn as head of the local pantheon—a common phenomenon in Western Asia. Whether we are justified in considering Ḥaurôn as himself closely related to the god of Tyre is not clear, though likely enough in itself.

The prohibition of the sacrifice of goat flesh is extremely interesting, since it seems to be known otherwise only on another Delian inscription, dedicated to Zeus Οὔριος and Aphrodite Urania, the deities of Ascalon in Philistia. This inscription states that it was "unlawful to sacrifice goat, swine, or cow."¹⁴ It is difficult not to connect this prohibition of sacrificing the goat with the fact that the latter was peculiarly sacred to Dionysus and related gods of fertility in the basin of the eastern Mediterranean. Dionysus and Attis were said to be nursed by she-goats, and Dionysus himself bears the appellations Eriphus, the "Kid," and Eriphius.¹⁵ It has been pointed out that the biblical taboo placed on the custom of seething a kid in its mother's milk must be connected with the corresponding practice in the cult of

¹² For these two accentuations see now Locker, *Glotta*, XXII (1933), 89–94.

¹³ *Adonis und Esmun*, pp. 307 f.

¹⁴ Plassart, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹⁵ See especially the discussion by Cook, *Zeus*, I, 665 ff. and 674.

Dionysus.¹⁶ Thus our prohibition is an indication of the essentially Dionysiac character of the local cult of Jamnia.

The god Ḥaurôn also appears in the theophorous name ʿAbd-ḥaurôn (עבד חורן) on an archaic Hebrew seal of the eighth or seventh century B.C. published by Clermont-Ganneau.¹⁷ On the seal is a representation of a priest(?) in Egyptianizing garb, with a long-stemmed lotus in one hand and the other raised in an attitude of worship before a table of offerings. The lotus probably indicates the close connection of the god with fertility, just as it does in the case of the Canaanite *dea nuda* of the Late Bronze and earliest Iron Age.¹⁸ Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the name, which he vocalized correctly *Ḥaurôn*, might represent the deified district or mountain of Ḥaurân (see below).

The name Beth-horon (בית-חורן) unquestionably contains the name of our god Ḥaurôn, as pointed out by I. Lévy. The pronunciation of this name in the tenth century B.C. was *Bêt-ḥaurôn*, as we know from the barbarous orthography *B3-ti-ḥ-w3-rw-n* in the Shishak List, which is worthless for the vocalism¹⁹ but valuable for the consonantal structure *Bṭḥurn*. There are two places by this name, but the older of the two is Beth-horon the Lower, where there is an ancient mound with Late Bronze pottery. A priori, Beth-horon might belong to the large category of place names beginning with *bêt*, "house," which have a personal name as the second element. The fact that the second element is elsewhere known as the name of a Canaanite god proves, however, that our name belongs to the same category as such theophorous city names as *Bêt-šemeš* (three occurrences), *Bêt-yerah* (two),

¹⁶ Radin, *AJSL*, XL, 209–18, accepted by the writer, *JPOS*, IV, 137. When the latter paper was written, the writer did not have access to Radin's source, the *Etymologicum magnum*, and so followed Radin's unwarranted conclusion from the latter that Dionysus was worshiped at Raphia under the form of a kid. As a matter of fact, the title *Eiraphiotes* (Εἰραφιότης) was connected with Raphia only by an etymological *tour de force*: "the one from Raphia." However, the evidence of coins proves that Dionysus was actually worshiped at Raphia (cf. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, p. 194), so it is probable that Radin is right, in spite of his erroneous deduction from his source. The prohibition of eating goat flesh presumably belongs specifically to the oriental cult of Dionysus the Kid.

¹⁷ *Journal Asiatique* (1883), I, 141; II, Plate opposite p. 304 (No. 17).

¹⁸ Cf. *JBL*, LI, 100, n. 62.

¹⁹ The correct syllabic orthography is not found after the twelfth century, when there was a radical shift in the pronunciation of Egyptian vowels; this orthography was afterward used only as an archaizing convention. The writer has been unable to discover any consistency in the later practice (cf. *Vocalization*, pp. 13–16).

Bêt-dagôn (three), *Bêt-anat* (two), *Bêt-el* (two?), *Bêt-šûr*, *Bêt-ba'al* (often), *Bêt-lehem* (two),²⁰ etc.

Before considering the curious problem presented by the survival of this Canaanite deity in Mandaean angelology, let us see what may be concluded from the foregoing material with regard to the meaning of the name *Ḥaurôn* and the functions of this deity. The name seems to have been pronounced consistently *Ḥaurôn*, with uncontracted diphthong, in Southern Palestine. The failure to contract many diphthongs is characteristic of the Hebrew of Jerusalem and of the south generally; in the former (biblical Hebrew) we find *ba(y)it*, *ya(y)in*, etc., where the Hebrew of the Northern Kingdom and Phoenicia had *bêt*, *yên*, etc.²¹ The same contraction of diphthongs appears regularly in the Canaanite of the Amarna letters, as well as in North Canaanite. The form *Ḥaurôn* is strictly parallel to Judean *Šaukô* (spelled שוכה on the royal jar sealings of the eighth and seventh centuries), Masoretic *Šôkô*. We have already seen that the name *Bêt-ḥôrôn* was actually pronounced *Bêt-ḥaurôn* in the tenth century B.C.

The etymology of the name is difficult to determine. It also appears as a place name, especially in two cases: *Ḥaurân*, name of the depressed plateau of Bashan, and *Ḥaurônên* (חורנן), Masoretic *Ḥôrônáyim*, the name of a Moabite town mentioned in the Bible and the Mesha Stone. The name *Ḥaurân* can be traced back to the ninth century in the Assyrian inscriptions. Shalmaneser III invaded it in the campaign of 841; he spells it (*mât*) *Ḥa-u-ra-ni*.²² Tiglath-

²⁰ The explanation of *Bêt-lehem* as the "House of (the god) *Laḥmu*" is due to Otto Schroeder, *OLZ*, 1915, pp. 294 f. This explanation is certainly correct, though it is doubtful whether his further identification of the name and place with the *Bit-NINURTA* of the Amarna letters is correct. In a letter from ARAD-Ḥiba, prince of Jerusalem, the latter is mentioned as a town belonging to the territory of Jerusalem, in the direction of Kellah (i.e., south or west). The argument is philologically weak, since it rests on a passage in the vocabulary AN: **A-nu-um* (CT, XXIV, 1 ff.) which equates twenty deities, arranged in pairs, with Anu and Antu. Among them are the two pairs *ib* and *ni-ib* (URTA), *Laḥma* and *Laḥama*. Since these identifications are mainly, if not entirely, the products of theological speculation and do not represent actual lexicographical identification at all, so far as we can tell, it is dangerous to use them. It is by no means impossible that *Bit-NINURTA* should be read **Bit-Ḥ(a)uruna*, or the like, since our *Ḥaurôn* was "the valiant shepherd," as well as a god of fertility like *Ninurta*. The site of Beth-horon the Lower was occupied during this period (ca. 1400 B.C.), which has not been proved in the case of Bethlehem.

²¹ This distinction, first proposed and defended by the writer, is now accepted by H. L. Ginsberg, with additional arguments (cf. *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, III, 79).

²² *IIR*, 5, No. 6, 56.

pileser III spells it (*ál*) *Ḥa-u-ra-a-ni*,²³ and Assurbânâpal gives it in the later Aramaic form *Ḥaurên*, spelled (*ál*) *Ḥa-u-ri-i-na*.²⁴ Since it is twice mentioned with the determinative for “town,” it has been thought to be the name of a city, from which it was extended to cover the district. It is also mentioned in the Assyrian provincial lists,²⁵ as well as in the Bible (Ezek. 47:16, 18), where it appears as *Ḥaurân*—a form also reflected by Greek *Ἀυραῖτις* and preserved in Arabic *Ḥaurân* (from the pre-Islamic poets to the present time). It is, of course, possible that there actually was a town named **Bêt-ḥaurân*, after the god, like *ʿAštarôt* for *Be(t)-ʿaštarôt* (also in *Ḥaurân*), and that the shortened name (*Ḥaurân*) of this town is the source of the name of the district. In favor of this view could be adduced the Moabite town name just cited. Unfortunately, however, there are three serious arguments against this simple conclusion. First, the Assyrian writing with the determinative *álu*, “town,” means practically nothing, since the cuneiform scribes continually interchanged cities and districts. Second, there are at least two cases where the name *Ḥaurân* is applied to a broad *wādī* in Arabia, once in the Syrian Desert (*Wādī Ḥaurân*, which empties into the Euphrates between *ʿAnā* and *Hit*) and a second time in Nejd (a *wādī* between *Yemāmah* and *Mecca* [*Yāqūt-Wüstenfeld*, II, 358]). For Sabaeen *Ḥaurân*, cf. Gl. 517 (Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, I, 336). *Ḥōrân* is also a not uncommon place name (perhaps ancient) in modern Palestine. Third, the name *Ḥaurônên-Ḥōrônáyim* is a dual, and presumably refers to some natural feature, as in the case of *Ramatáyim*, *Qarnáyim*,²⁶ etc.

Possible etymologies for the place name might be found in the stem *ḥwr*, “to be white” (but *Ḥaurân* is a plain of black earth, strewn with black lava), or in *Yāqūt*’s suggestion that the name is connected with the Arabic phrase *al-ḥauru baʿda ʿl-kauri*, explained as “deficiency after excess.” However, it is more likely that the name is an adjectival formation in *ân* from *ḥaur*, which is explained by the lexicographers as “bottom (of a well),” whence the use just cited, after *Yāqūt*. “(Broad)

²³ Rost, *Keilschrifttexte*, p. 85, l. 26.

²⁴ Rassam Cylinder, Col. VII, l. 111. Streck (*Assurbanipal*, II, 65, n. 8) is certainly wrong in trying to separate this name from the district of *Ḥaurân*, since all the accompanying names are also names of districts, such as *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Zobah*, *Yabrūd*.

²⁵ See Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 62 f., 69.

²⁶ Lit. “the two horns.” There was no such place as *ʿAšterôt-qarnáyim*; see *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 19, pp. 14 f.; *JSOR*, X, 260.

depression" (a meaning shared by the rhyming *ḡaur* and *ḡaur*) would be a most suitable original meaning for all three place names; the site of Ḥôrônáyim is unfortunately unknown, so we cannot consider it at all in this connection. A topographical parallel for the semantic development is *ʿimq*, *ʿamq*, originally "depth," then "broad depression," "valley" (the Plain of Esdraelon, the Biqāʿ of Syria, the Plain of Antioch, etc.).

It is not impossible that the name of the god is a similar adjectival expression, meaning primarily "the deep one, the one inhabiting the underworld." Similarly, *Šeʿol* means both the underworld and its deity.²⁷ This would be a very suitable name for a chthonic deity. However, since this etymology cannot be established, we cannot use it to define the god's nature.

From the Egyptian and the Greek sources we can say something about the nature of our deity. It is best to begin with the Greek information, since there is good reason, as we shall see, to believe that the Egyptians have made a rather violent identification of the god Ḥaurôn with Horus-Ḥarakhte. As we have seen above, the Ḥaurôn of Jamnia was essentially a Dionysiac figure, and was closely associated, probably identified, with the Tyrian Heracles. The latter was, moreover, also a deity of the Ešmûn-Adonis type,²⁸ like the principal deity of Byblus. He represents, like the latter, both the virile and warlike aspect of Baʿal-šamēm, the storm-god from heaven who brings fertility to earth,²⁹ and the more fragile one of the dying god or the young god who emasculates himself.³⁰ This combination of opposite qualities and characteristics which sometimes seem decidedly incongruous seems to be typical of the Syrian storm-god of the Alʿêyân Baʿal class, as we now see from the Ugarit texts.³¹ There is a well-known biblical reference to "weeping for Hadad-Rimmon." Melqart-

²⁷ The Egyptian form of the name Bêt-šeʿan was *Bt-šʿl*, as is now well known, thanks to the results of the excavations at Beisân. The name almost certainly means "House of (the god) Šeʿol." In the Bible, Šeʿol appears several times in personified form as a being from whose hands God will redeem his people (Hos. 13:14; Pss. 49:16; 89:49).

²⁸ See Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 275 ff. For the relation between the cult of Ešmûn and that of Dionysus see *ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.

²⁹ See especially Seyrig, *Syria*, XIV, 238 ff.

³⁰ Cf. the writer's discussions, *JBL*, XXXVII, 115 ff.; *JAOs*, XXXIX, 84 ff.; *AJSL*, XXXVI, 262 ff.

³¹ Cf. Dussaud, *RHR*, CIV, 377 ff.

Heracles was identified with Ešmûn,³² and the feast of his resurrection was celebrated annually at Tyre.

We might have exhausted our evidence but for the new complication introduced by the Egyptian data. In the Magical Papyrus Harris Ḥaurôn appears both as closely parallel to Horus and as bearing the standing appellation, "valiant (mighty) shepherd," in which capacity he protects the flocks against wolves and the fields against marauding animals. This appellation is most interesting, since Adonis, Attis, and Tammûz were all shepherds. Tammûz is called the "shepherd" as early as the late third millennium, in the list of antediluvian kings and in the contemporary litanies; the conception survived into the latest times, as is attested by Theodore bar Kônî.³³ While it is true that Baudissin considered Theocritus' use of the term "shepherd" for Adonis as secondary, he was forced to admit that it belonged to the closely parallel Tammûz and Attis by right.³⁴ The statue found by Montet at Tanis, already described, identifies Ḥaurôn with the sun-god Ḥarakhte (Horus living on the horizon), which seems to introduce a new complication. Actually we believe that it is a purely secondary identification, based on the following situation.

As is now well known, the Egyptians of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth dynasties identified the chief Canaanite god Haddu (Hadad), generally called simply Ba'al (the lord), or Ba'al-šamēm (see above),³⁵ with their own Sûtaḥ (later Sêth),³⁶ the storm-god of Tanis and archfoe of Horus. Since Horus in his form Rê-Ḥarakhte was the principal god of Egypt, it was only natural that the chief deity of the hated Hyksos, and later the principal god of the Canaanites, should be identified with his conquered enemy. The identification persisted into the Nineteenth Dynasty, when we find Sûtaḥ-Ba'al appearing as the Pharaoh's patron deity. But, as we learn from the texts of Ugarit, Ba'al also had a bitter foe, Môt, son of the bull-god El and lord of the underworld, whence his name "Death" (as we know from Philo

³² On the origin of the god Ešmûn from older Šalmôn (Šulmân) see the writer's paper *AOF*, VII, 164 ff. The subsequent discovery of the gentilic 'Aimny in the texts of Ugarit does not affect this demonstration, which is confirmed by a number of other more recent discoveries.

³³ See Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 166 ff.

³⁵ See Gressmann, *Baudissin Festschrift*, pp. 191-216; Vincent, *RB*, 1928, pp. 524 ff.; Ginsberg, *Tarbiz*, IV, 385 f.; V, 86 n.

³⁶ There has been some confusion with regard to the forms of this name, particularly among Semitists; Greek *Sêth* is simply the normal later equivalent of older *Sûtaḥ*, employed down to the twelfth century B.C. (cf. *Vocalization*, p. 56, XIV. D. 3-3a).

Byblius).³⁷ Môṯ overcame Baʿal in combat and carried him down to the underworld, whence the latter was rescued by his sister, ʿAnat, who slew Môṯ in a bitter fight. It was, therefore, only natural that both Baʿal-Haddu, the lord of the fructifying storm, and Môṯ, lord of the underworld and also dying god, should appear in the rôle of lord of fertility and should be combined with "Tammûz-Adonis." So kaleidoscopic are the variations in character and function which are shown by these Canaanite deities that we can seldom be entirely clear as to what functions a given local form of one may have. Thus the writer showed that the god Rašap (Resheph) was essentially chthonic,³⁸ while Vincent was later able to point to traits which connected him with the storm-god.³⁹ We were probably both right, though the underworld element seems to have been more original and more often dominant than the celestial one. The Egyptians may, accordingly, have identified Ḥaurôn, foe of Baʿal, with Horus, enemy of Sûtaḥ, quite regardless of whether Ḥaurôn was essentially a solar deity or not. We would naturally not deny that he may have been solar in some phase or at some temple, just as the Babylonian underworld deity Nergal could also appear in a solar capacity.

If the suggested etymology, "the one of the deep (Hades)," is correct, we should have a further feature in common, since dying gods spent part of their time in the underworld and were sometimes thought of as ruling the lower regions, not as being imprisoned in them. Thus Tammûz is spoken of as "lord of the underworld."⁴⁰ The Greek Korê (Persephone) was similarly queen of the underworld. It is not impossible that the name *Milk-qart*, "King of the City," refers to the lower world, since the term *qrt*, "city," is used of Hades, the realm of Môṯ, god of death, in the North-Canaanite epic of Alʿêyân Baʿal (Ras Shamra, B, VIII, 11). Similarly, the Sumerian name *Nergal*, belonging to the Babylonian god of Hades, seems to mean "Lord of the Great City."

It would appear that the Canaanite god Ḥaurôn has survived in Mandaeen religious literature as the genius Hauran or Hauraran, a being who leads a shadowy existence in the extant Mandaeen sources.⁴¹

³⁷ The best treatment of the god Môṯ has been given by Dussaud, *RHR*, CIV, 365 ff.; CV, 272 ff.; cf. also Bauer, *ZAW*, 1933, pp. 94 ff.; 1935, pp. 56 f.

³⁸ *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, pp. 143 ff.

³⁹ *RB*, 1928, pp. 524 ff.

⁴⁰ Zimmern, *Der babylonische Gott Tamûz*, pp. 729 f.

⁴¹ See Lidzbarski, *ZDMG*, LXI, 693 f.; *Johannesbuch*, p. 232.

Lidzbarski derived the name of this genius from Ḥaurân = Bashan, an equation which he employed as an argument in favor of the origin of the Mandaeans in Eastern Palestine.⁴² However, Lidzbarski proved elsewhere that a number of the Mandaean angels and genii bear names originating in Syrian paganism.⁴³ Thus the genii Šilmai and Nidbai represent the Syrian gods Šelmân, older Šulmân,⁴⁴ and the associated Nidbaka (Madbaka).⁴⁵ Several names of celestial beings beginning with Yô (Yahweh) are slight modifications of pagan divine names: *Yôšamîn* stands for *Ba'al-šamîn* (older *Ba'al-šamên*); *Yôkášar* is connected with the Phoenician *Kûšôr* (older **Kôšâr*, North-Canaanite *Kôtar*); *Yôkabar* belongs with the *Kabeiroi* (the Canaanite prototype **Kabîr*, lit. "great," has not yet been found in the Ugarit texts); *Yôzaṭaq*, for *Yôšadaq*, is connected with the Canaanite *Sydyk* or *Šedeq*. The Egyptian deity Ptaḥ, whose cult was borrowed by the Phoenicians, also seems to have been taken over in disguised form as Ptaḥil (cf. Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, p. xxviii). H. Bauer has pointed out that the North-Canaanite divine name *Tôr^{el}* ("the Bull," "El"), which appears in South-Arabian inscriptions as *Taur-ba'al*, is found in Mandaean as *Taurîl*.⁴⁶

The hitherto unknown god Ḥaurôn thus seems to have possessed no little importance in his time—another illustration of the obscurity in which the religion of the Canaanites is still shrouded. Until more is known about it, we cannot hope to solve the problem of the relation between the beliefs of Israel and those of its predecessors in Palestine.

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⁴² Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, pp. xvi ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. xx, xxiv f.

⁴⁴ For the god Šulmân see now the writer's paper in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 164 ff. For the phonetic relationship between *Šulmân* and *Ēsmân* see also the writer's paper, "The North-Canaanite Poems of Al'êyân Ba'al and the 'Gracious Gods'" (*JPOS*, Vol. XIV, No. 1), n. 172a.

⁴⁵ The origin of this god is still quite obscure. The best treatment remains that of Isidore Lévy, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLIII (1901), 201-5, who shows that the ancient explanation of the name as "(god) Altar" is based on a popular etymology, combining *Maḏbeḫâ* with *maḏbeḫâ*, "altar." **Nidbak* is presumably the source of the other forms, the substitution of initial *m* being an erroneous back-formation of a common type, assimilating the form with initial *n* to Assyrian nouns beginning with *n* (*nomina instrumenti et loci* where Barth's law operated), and then aramaizing it by changing the *n* to *m* (just as, e.g., the Aramaeans changed Assy. *paššûru* (Sumer. *banšûr*) to *paḫôrâ*, Arab. *fâḫûr*, and *Assûr* to *Aḫûr*, whence Pers. *Athûra*). In view of the Mesopotamian origin of the god Šulmân, it is probable that some Sumerian deity is concealed under the name *Nidbak* (cf. the *Nisrok* of Hebrew tradition).

⁴⁶ *ZA W*, 1933, p. 83, n. 1.

heights shows that the only pool which could feed the aqueduct was the ancient pool which I identify with the Serpent's Pool,¹⁰ west of the American Colony. The first part of the aqueduct carrying the water from that pool was found by the late Rev. Hanauer, as appears from a note written in pencil in the margin of a page of Charles Warren's "The Recovery of Jerusalem," which I borrowed from him a few years before his death.

THE EGYPTO-CANAANITE DEITY HAURÔN

W. F. ALBRIGHT

In 1936 the writer published an article in which he collected and analyzed the available data bearing on the recently discovered Canaanite god Haurôn.¹ The subject was curiously diffuse, owing to the fact that evidence came from sources scattered over the entire Near East: from an Egyptian magical papyrus, from a newly discovered statue of Ramesses the Great, from a Palestinian place-name and a personal name on a seal, from a Greek inscription found at Delos, from Mandaean religious literature. Since 1936 the name has been discovered in a North-Canaanite epic from Ugarit, in an incantation of the seventh century B. C., and in Egyptian execration texts of the nineteenth century B. C. (see below). Now we have proof that the god Haurôn had been fully adopted into the Egyptian pantheon a century and a half or more earlier than our previous evidence indicated, that is, in the reign of Amenophis II (cir. 1436-1423 B. C.).²

In 1936 the Brooklyn Museum purchased a quantity of faience tiles and other objects from a foundation deposit, stated by M. Capart to come from a shrine erected by Amenophis II near the Great Sphinx at Gizeh.³ These objects included a dozen tiles, eleven of which are published herewith, six inscribed alabaster vases, and three semi-circular pieces of alabaster, also inscribed. The inscriptions on the last nine objects run (with only minute variations: *ntr nfr ʿh-prw-r mry Hr-m-ʿht*, "The good god, 'Akhuprure', beloved of Harmachis," just as on the tiles illustrated in Fig. 1. The tiles average 14.5 cm. in length by 8 cm. in width and are bluish green in color. The writer is greatly indebted to Mr. John D. Cooney, Curator of Egyptology in the Brooklyn Museum,

¹⁰ Josephus, Wars, V, 3, 108.

¹ See AJSL, LIII, 1-12.

² Following Borchardt's chronology in *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte* (Cairo, 1935), which has been corrected in places and supported in others by W. F. Edgerton, AJSL, LIII, 188-197. For modifications of Borchardt's fourteenth-century chronology see the writer's observations, *Jour. Eg. Archaeol.*, XXIII, 190 ff., especially 193, n. 8.

³ This information comes from a letter written by M. Capart to the Brooklyn Museum in May, 1937, quoted by Mr. Cooney in his letter of Nov. 25, 1940, to the writer; cf. also Dussaud, *Syria*, XVIII, 404. These tiles come ultimately from a shrine of Amenophis II, excavated by the Egyptian Service des Antiquités. Haurôn seems to be mentioned on still unpublished stelae excavated in this shrine.

for permission to publish these photographs and for valuable additional information.⁴

The inscriptions on the tiles are very unusual: half of them (Fig. 1) reproduce the inscriptions on the other objects with no variation from normal orthography,

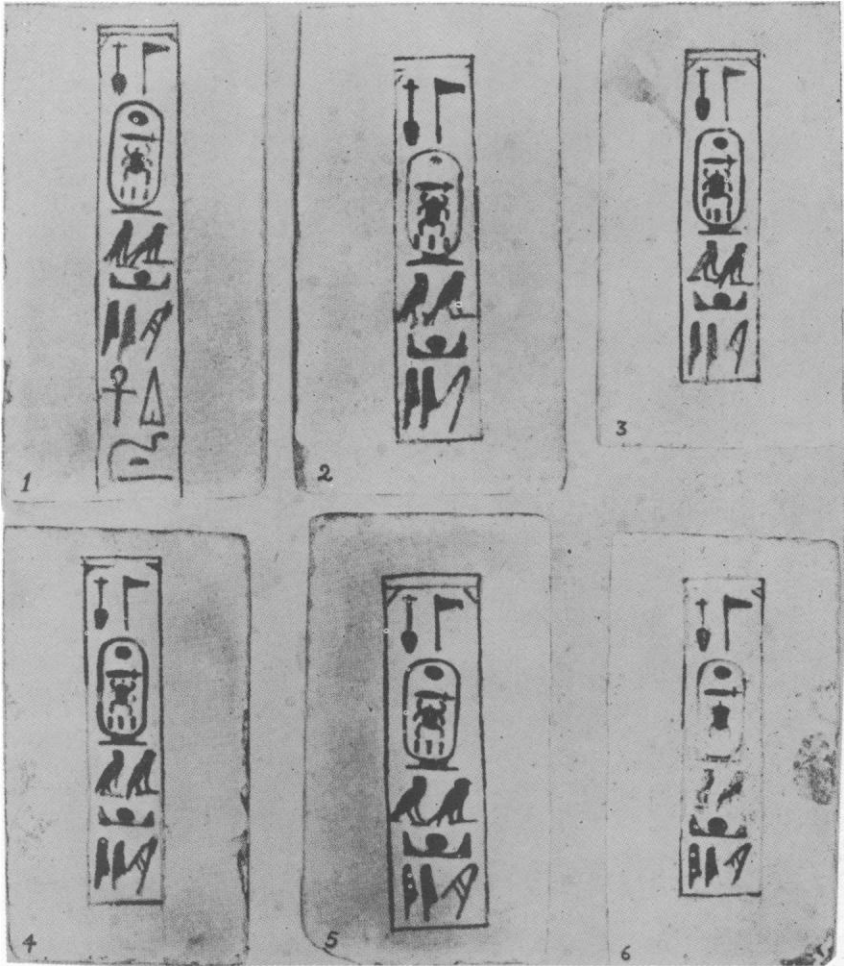


Fig. 1.

aside from the addition of *di 'nh dt*, "given life forever," on one example (Fig. 1: 1), whereas the other half (Fig. 2) substitute the god Hauron for Horus, writing the following appellation, *m 3bt*, in strange, phonetic, fashion. One Hauron tile was

⁴ The writer subsequently discussed the tiles with Ludlow Bull and Georg Steindorff, but he is alone responsible for the views stated here.

so badly preserved that it has not been reproduced. Since this writing is so novel, we have reproduced all legible tiles for the sake of enabling systematic comparisons to be made. It will be seen that the Haurôn tiles read just as do the Horus tiles, with this exception, and that Haurôn-on-the-Horizon appears instead of Horus-on-the-Horizon, Harmachis. All the former agree exactly in their unusual phonetic writing of the name, though Fig. 2: 4, which is very roughly executed, inadvertently omits *n* and *m*. The number of examples and the parallels in the Horus tiles make the reading *H-w-ru-nyHorus.god-m-h-t* quite certain; following the system of the writer it may be transcribed *H-w-ru-ni* (det. Horus, god)-*m-h-t*, *Haurûnimahe(t)*.⁵ The name *Haurôn*, which became *Haurûn*, owing to the absence of the vowel *ô* in Egyptian at that period, is written just as in all other occurrences of the name in hieroglyphic and hieratic writing; the addition of *i* (the old dual sign), forming the syllabic group *ni*, is presumably intended to serve as indication of the prothetic vowel before the preposition *m*. Since it is scarcely likely that the scribe who composed the inscription was illiterate, we must probably explain the phonetic writing of *m 3ht* as due to the need of compensating for the extra space taken up by the name *Haurôn* without changing the formula or the size of the other signs. It certainly occupies very little space proportionately.

It is most unexpected to find the foreign deity Haurôn so completely identified with Horus at so early a period. There was nothing surprising in such an amalgamation during the Nineteenth Dynasty, but to find Canaanite influence on Egyptian religion so powerful in the middle of the Eighteenth is somewhat disconcerting. However, the earliest reference to Baal goes back to the reign of Tuthmosis III, and Canaanite loan-words had already become common in Egyptian, so it was not *a priori* impossible, and now we know it to be a fact. This fact puts a different face on Montet's suggestion that the spelling *Hr-n-m-hb* which sometimes occurs in the cartouches of Harmais reflects an actual pronunciation *Haurûn-em-hab*, literally, "Haurôn-in-the-Feast"; it must now be admitted that it is at least a possible alternative pronunciation of the royal name.⁶

In 1937 Montet published additional photographs of the statue of Ramesses II, showing himself as a child protected by Haurôn in the form of the Horus falcon.⁷ Nothing is added, however, to his treatment of this material in the *Revue Biblique* two years previously. The writer may correct a slight error in which he followed Montet: the inscription reads on one side "beloved of Haurôn," and on the other *mr.n Hwrn*, "he whom Haurôn loves."⁸

About the same time Virolleaud reported on a remarkable passage in an unpublished text of Ugarit,⁹ reading as follows:

yṯbr Hr̄n y bn yṯbr Hr̄n r'ešk

'ṯrt šm B'l qdqdk

"Horon of Jabneh will break,

Horon will break thy head,

Astarte of the heavens of Baal (will break) thy skull."

⁵ See Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven, 1934.

⁶ *Revue Biblique*, 1935, 158 f.; Montet's view has been accepted by Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, VIII, Pl. 27; cf. Smithers, JEA, XXVI, 164.

⁷ *Kémi*, V, Pl. X-XI and pp. 8-14.

⁸ Cf. JEA, XXIII, 192, n. 3, and contrast Montet, *Revue Biblique*, 1935, 155, 159.

⁹ See Dussaud, *Syria*, XVII, 394.

Since the Delos inscription had already proved that Haurôn was the chief god of Jamnia, biblical Jabneh, the interpretation *Hrn Ybn*, "Haurôn of Jabneh," seemed quite reasonable. However, Père R. de Vaux almost immediately pointed out that we should read simply *y bn*, "O my son,"¹⁰

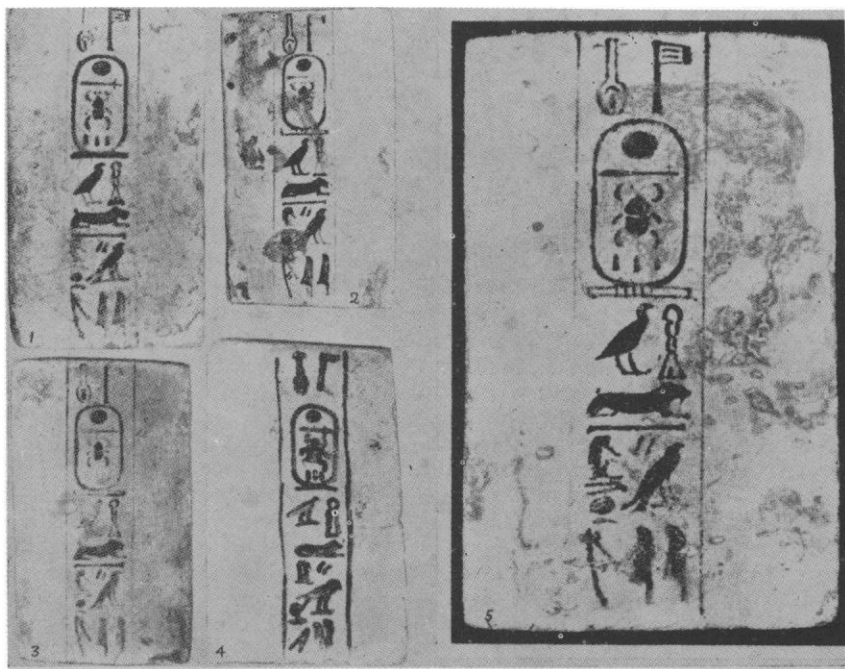


Fig. 2.

and this obviously correct interpretation was adopted by the writer, who translated:

"Hôrân will break, O my son, Hôrân will break thy head,
Astarte-name-of-Baal (will break) thy skull."

The common Ugaritic and Biblical verse-form a-b-c—a-b-d, in which c and d are synonymous, or at least refer to the same object, ensures the correctness of this interpretation.¹¹ For other details we may refer to a previous treatment elsewhere.¹² It may be observed in passing that the Ugaritic vocalization must have been *Hôrân*, since diphthongs were contracted and accented originally long *â* was not changed to *ô*, as in South Canaanite and Biblical Hebrew.

¹⁰ *Revue Biblique*, 1937, 372.

¹¹ On stylistic forms in Canaanite prosody see now Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, pp. 83-87.

¹² *BULLETIN*, No. 70 (April, 1938), p. 23.

The Ugaritic passage shows that there was a close relation between Haurôn and Astarte, who scarcely ever appears in the Ugaritic texts, her place being taken by Anath. This relationship suggests another possible reason for the amalgamation of Haurôn with Horus in Egypt: Haurôn may have been considered as Astarte's son as well as her youthful lover. As son of Astarte, Haurôn could the more easily be identified with Isis' son, Horus. The enmity between Baal and Haurôn squared exactly with that existing, according to the Egyptians, between Seth and Horus. It now appears that the equation of Horus with Haurôn may be as old as that of Seth with Baal.

In 1939 Count du Mesnil du Buisson published a very curious gypsum tablet from Arslan Tash in northwestern Mesopotamia, containing a Canaanite (Hebrew) incantation which had been partly adapted to Aramaic use. Just two years ago the writer studied it in the *BULLETIN* (No. 76, pp. 5-11), offering revised dating and interpretation. He found that the palacography required a date in the seventh century B. C. On the rim of the tablet the Canaanite text includes among the deities called upon to validate the incantation against evil spirits: "the goddesses (who are) wives of Haurôn, (the god) whose utterance is true, and his seven concubines and the eight wives of Baal" ('[t. 'št Hwrn. š. tm. py. wšb'. šrt. wšmn. št. B'l. . .). The numerical gradation "seven—eight" is found in Hurro-Hittite as well as in Ugaritic, from which it passed on to later Canaanite (Phoenician). It seems to be a reasonable deduction that Haurôn appears here as a peer of Baal himself. The expression "whose utterance is true" suggests that he was particularly revered as patron of justice and giver of laws.

In the October *BULLETIN*, finally, we discussed the new execration texts from the late Twelfth Dynasty, published last year by Posener, and we called attention to two occurrences of the personal name *Haurânu-abum*, "Haurôn is Father," borne by two Palestinian princes in the nineteenth century B. C.¹³ These occurrences of the name prove that the god Haurôn was well-known in Palestine over four hundred years before the earliest Egyptian reference, with which we have dealt above. The fact that Haurôn was called "father" suggests that he may have been identified with the supreme deity El. We must, of course, expect to find many strange oscillations in the personality of any Canaanite divinity. Thus Anath was both life-giver and destroyer; Rashap (Resheph) was both god of death and god of fertility, like Nergal, with whom he shared many features.

There can no longer be any doubt that the god "Resheph" was properly god of the underworld like the Babylonian Nergal, as maintained by the writer since 1925.¹⁴ This is now proved by a passage in the Keret Epic of Ugarit,¹⁵ where the words *y'etsp Ršp*, "Rashap shall gather (for himself)," are used in parallelism with *tb't*, "(they) shall be stricken," *tkn*,¹⁶ "(they) shall be sacrificed," *tmt*, "(they) shall

¹³ *BULLETIN*, No. 83, p. 34 and n. 12.

¹⁴ See especially his discussion of the nature of this divinity in *Oriental Studies Dedicated to Paul Haupt* (1926), pp. 146-151. This view was opposed by Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1928, 524 ff.

¹⁵ See the writer's treatment, *BULLETIN*, No. 63, pp. 27 f.; No. 71, pp. 38 f.

¹⁶ So, for Virolleaud's *'akn*. Vocalize probably *tukânu*, passive causative (Heb. *hof'al*).

die," *bšlh ttpl*, "(they) shall fall by the javelin." In Biblical Hebrew the verb *'sp* often means "slay, destroy life" in the *qal*, and "perish" in the *nif'al*. This view has been accepted, with additional arguments, by J. Pedersen in his latest study on the subject.¹⁷ The name has been vocalized *Rāšāp* by the writer since 1930, and this pronunciation has now been proved by the researches of Lewy and Dossin.¹⁸

DID ANATH FIGHT THE DRAGON?

H. L. GINSBERG

With indefatigable ingenuity, Albright¹ has cleared up some of the obscurities at the beginning of I* AB i. He is particularly to be congratulated on exorcising the teraphim and the priest's ephod. In my opinion, however, he has been less happy in seizing the broad outlines of the drama; which I still regard in the same light as Cassuto² and I³ had previously come to regard it. Albright thinks the whole column is one single speech by *Gpn w'Ugr* to Anath, and consequently has to interpret *yṭb* in l. 9 as a feminine participle and to emend *lytn* in l. 10 to *ltnn*. To my gratification, Cassuto agrees with me that the whole column represents Mut's reply, through *Gpn w'Ugr*, to a message conveyed to him by *Gpn w'Ugr* from Baal. More specifically, we distinguish: (1) the end of Mut's own words, ll. 1-8; (2) *Gpn w'Ugr*'s return to Baal, ll. 9-11; (3) *Gpn w'Ugr*'s report to Baal on Mut's reply, ll. 12 ff. I trust that the following detailed proof will win more general approbation for this view.

Ugaritic epic poets love repetition as much as Greek and Babylonian ones. An opportunity they never miss is that which offers itself when they tell of messages exchanged. These are reported according to the following scheme. A instructs his messenger (or messengers) to deliver to B a message *M*, which the poet reproduces in direct discourse. The messenger betakes him to B, to whom he repeats *M* word for word or with insignificant variations. B then instructs the bringer of *M* to carry back to A a reply *R*, which the poet likewise reproduces in direct discourse. At this point the poet tells us that the messenger departed (some

¹⁷ *Berytus*, VI (1941), pp. 68 f.

¹⁸ See especially Lewy, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I (1939), pp. 273-75, for the spellings *Ra-sa-ap* (Amorite for Accadian *Rašap*) and *Rušpan* (Accadian spelling, found in the Cappadocian and the Mari tablets). The god *Rušpān* is also mentioned in the Chicago syllabary; see Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary AO 7661* (1940), p. 57 on line 140, where we must naturally read ^a*Ru-uš-pan*. The writer has insisted on the vocalization *Rāšāp* (not *Rašāp*, Lewy, *JBL*, LIX, 519, n. 2) since before 1930; cf. *JAOS*, L, 339, and *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 167, n. 20. The three known variants of the name, *Rašap*, *Rušpān* and *Rašpōn* (*Rašpuna*) vary according to the same rules as *Šalim*, *Šulmān*, and *Šalmōn* (whence later Phoenician *Ešmūn*); cf. the writer's latest observations, *JAOS*, LX, 298.

¹ *BULLETIN* 83 (October 1941), 39-42.

² *Dissertationes in honorem Dr. Eduardi Mahler*, Budapest 1937, pp. 53-57; *Tarbiz X* (1941), 169-173.

³ *Kitvê 'Ugarit*, Jerusalem 1936, pp. 44-48; *Orientalia* NS V (1936), pp. 186 f.